+ 539 /371 cont./
handed him only the leaf of tobacco and the coca already prepared, but not the seed of either of these two plants. When Yúpuri Baúro received the leaf of tobacco, it seemed to Yúpuri Baúro that the leaf of tobacco was a smoked fish. And as soon as Yúpuri Baúro received the leaf of tobacco that seemed to him to be a smoked fish, Pareroangó handed him the seed of coca. Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "Did you ask Uaí Majsé for this coca seed?" Then Pareroangó answered him: "No, I stole this coca seed." Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "What did Uaí Majsé say to you?" Then Pareroangó said: "Uaí Majsé asked me who had sent me to steal that coca?" Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "And what did you say in answer to him?" Then Pareroangó answered: "I told Uaí Majsé
[685] that Yúpuri Baúro had sent me to steal that coca." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I do not want this stolen coca. Keep this coca." This is why the Tukano /Tucano/ now do not receive stolen articles and why thieves are pointed out among /372/ the Tukano. Then Yúpuri Baúro ordered Pareroangó to go to plant that seed. Then Pareroangó was very happy and went and planted the seed. And that same day the seed blossomed into a coca bush and produced a great deal of coca. Then Pareroangó returned to Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro continued to look at the smoked fish, convinced that it was a smoked fish, when in reality it was a leaf of tobacco. Pareroangó remained standing inside the maloca of Diawí and remained looking at Yúpuri Baúro to see what he would do with the leaf of tobacco that he held in his hands. Then Yúpuri Baúro thought: "This is not tobacco. Those are lies of Uaí Majsé." Then Yúpuri Baúro went to his room and took a piece of manioc bread and went out again to the center of the maloca of Diawí. Then Yúpuri Baúro began to eat the smoked fish. And just as soon as Yúpuri Baúro began to eat a little of this fish, the rest of the fish disappeared. And immediately Yúpuri Baúro went crazy and went out of the maloca of Diawí, running on all fours. And Yúpuri Baúro circled around the maloca of Diawí, running on all fours. And

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiarí, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

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421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

INHERITANCE

241 423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault.

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihi*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihi* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.